648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
125 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang [533] [531] [522] [536] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house, [535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaõ, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the gutturul sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of
the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245
171 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
231 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
[648] Ampanes stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den
Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann
(255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

224 I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
● 533 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
535 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with religion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimí in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimakí. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitama I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185] The Diet

262 924 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tamplitíua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [771] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

771 252 Like these Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungma and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the meshed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krahó [Crahó] Indians settled without biting.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning by Pasteri, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morning very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see *toyi* and *panié-tánuera* the next day. He sang that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Pasteri had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukumu, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukumu retired into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with this wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies continued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the ac-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the tapi's smoke. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

"saw *topé*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pantori took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topé*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumo and Pantori, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikutiwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topé* and *panié-tãwera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers as weapons against the *topé*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *tupi* and *panié-*
ánowera to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
(533) accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Pantori stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
776 me that he had seen *panié-ánowera* sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *tupi*. He moved
backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the side-lines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Pantori, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Pantori had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panié-ánowera* and many *tupi* in the house", one of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Pantori and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
(533) their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment at each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Pantavi grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *panié-tãnovira*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Pantavi walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *aniinga aiwiri*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

fell, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamaicaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

Case of Panïri

Panïri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panïri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panïri* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of tapi. [561, 589]

Case of Kanacipá

Kanacipá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [767 583]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

758 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [878] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

Death.—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [692] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

763 As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 Art.—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with resin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incised work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 Musical instruments.—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

539 Music.—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikabó) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

533 ● [66] [171] [177]

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

535 [241]

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

526 [171] [525]

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

276 755 [751] 276 756 [759]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirapé

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Carajá (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when